

A FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY: THE PRESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

(An address by Clifton Daniel, Managing editor of the New York Times, at the World Press Institute, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., June 1, 1966)

This morning I am going to tell you a story—one that has never been told before—the inside story of The New York Times and the Bay of Pigs, something of a mystery story.

In its issue of Nov. 19, 1960, The Nation published an editorial under the heading, "Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?"

I had never seen this editorial and had never heard it mentioned until a reader of The New York Times sent in a letter to the editor. He asked whether the allegations in the editorial were true, and, if so, why hadn't they been reported by The New York Times, whose resources for gathering information were much greater than those of a little magazine like The Nation.

The Nation said:

"Fidel Castro may have a sounder basis for his expressed fears of a U.S.-financed 'Guatemala-type' invasion than most of us realize. On a recent visit to Guatemala, Dr. Ronald Hilton, Director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, was told:

"1. The United States Central Intelligence Agency has acquired a large tract of land, at an outlay in excess of \$1-million, which is stoutly fenced and heavily guarded. . . . It is 'common knowledge' in Guatemala that the tract is being used as a training ground for Cuban counter-revolutionaries, who are preparing for an eventual landing in Cuba. . . . United States personnel and equipment are being used at the base. . . .

"2. Substantially all of the above was reported by a well-known Guatemalan journalist . . . in La Hora, a Guatemalan newspaper . . .

"3. More recently, the President of Guatemala, forced to take cognizance of the persistent reports concerning the base, went on TV and admitted its existence, but refused to discuss its purpose or any other facts about it.

" . . . We believe the reports merit publication; they can, and should, be checked immediately by all U.S. news media with correspondents in Guatemala."

OFF TO GUATEMALA

With that last paragraph, The New York Times readily agreed. Paul Kennedy, our correspondent in Central America, was soon on his way to Guatemala.

He reported that intensive daily air training was taking place there on a partly hidden airfield. In the mountains, commando-like forces were being drilled in guerrilla warfare tactics by foreign personnel, mostly from the United States.

Guatemalan authorities insisted that the training operation was designed to meet an assault from Cuba. Opponents of the government said the preparations were for an offensive against the Cuban regime of Premier Fidel Castro. Mr. Kennedy actually penetrated two miles into the training area.

His article was published in The New York Times on Jan. 10, 1961.

The Nation also printed another article in its issue of Jan. 7, 1961, by Don Dwiggins, aviation editor of The Los Angeles Mirror.

And now Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. takes up the story in "A Thousand Days," his account of John F. Kennedy's years in the White House.

"On March 31," Mr. Schlesinger says, "Howard Handelman of U.S. News and World Report, returning from 10 days in Florida, said to me that the exiles were telling everyone that they would receive United States recognition as soon as they landed in Cuba,

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Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, we have for some time been hearing of "managed news" and of late of "credibility gaps." The relations of the Government and the press in times of crisis and stress are interestingly set forth in an address by Clifton Daniel, managing editor of the New York Times, which he made at the World Press Institute, held at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., on June 1. He entitled it: "A Footnote to History: The Press and National Security."

It is a valuable contribution to recent history and reveals out of recent events what some of the pressures on the press are and what are its resulting problems and responsibilities.

I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed at this point in my remarks:

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows: